Reviewer for International Relations (IR) Sections A and B

Reminders:
1. This reviewer is made exclusively for use of Sections A and B of International Relations.
2. Any unauthorized reproduction of this reviewer shall be severely dealt with accordingly.
3. This reviewer forecasts the probable questions for the IR Midterms hence use at your own risk.

I. Introduction to IR

- **Basic Tenets**
    - International Relations is a **subset or a branch of political sciences concerning the political, diplomatic and security relationships between and among states.**
    - International relations, as a subfield of political science, is the study of the interactions among the various actors that participate in international politics. It is the study of the behaviors of these actors as they participate individually and together in international political processes.
    - International relations is also an interdisciplinary field of inquiry, using concepts and substance from history, economics, and anthropology, as well as political science.
    - It addresses the relationships and interactions between countries, states, or nations of significant importance to the world at **any period of history**.
    - It pertains to governments or coalitions of governments that have **aligned interests or shared objectives or advocacies**.
    - Diplomacy, Commerce, Culture, Social societies are often associated with International Relations.
    - It is also a social movement rather than an academic discipline.
    - In order to participate in any relationship, be it with an international organization, intergovernmental organization, the elements of what constitutes a State should be present, especially **sovereignty since it is only sovereign states who can be a member and participate in such relations.**
    - Global politics usually refers to:
        - Politics that is conducted at a global rather than a national or regional level; or
        - All elements within a system, not just to the system as a whole. Global politics thus takes place not just at a global level, but at and, crucially, across, all levels – worldwide, regional, national, sub-national (This is the preferred definition).
    - **International or World Politics is usually confined to politics only**.
        - This is in contrast to International Relations which covers non-political relations and other non-state actors.

- **Hierarchy of Power and Equality of States**
    - It should be remembered the paradox existing in IR.
        - Since all States are sovereign, it does not answer to any higher authority (Equality)
        - However, due to the inequality economic resources and political power, there is echelon of powers (Hierarchical)
        - Therefore, those who have power are the **Great Powers (Mainly Western or European)** while those who have less are called **Small Powers.**

- **Current Affairs**
    - The Russian invasion of Ukraine was heavily condemned, chief among them by the, United Nations, European Union and other countries.
        - **140 in Favor and 38 abstentions**, states in the UN General Assembly submitted a resolution forwarded by Ukraine demanding Russia to stop the war.
        - The war precipitated a humanitarian crisis as 6.3 mil- lion people fled the conflict seeking refuge across Europe

- **Globalization**
    - "Break down of borders".
    - Usually refers to a stage of Capitalism.

- **Anarchy and Governance**
    - Conflict is constrained by the balance of power.
    - Governance puts emphasis on the Rule of Law.

II. Evolution of IR

- **World War I**
    - Considered to be the "birth of IR".
    - It was mainly confined to Europe.
    - However, the **US was forced to enter into the war after Germany's attacks on its ships**.
    - The war led to rise of **Communism in Russia**, led by **Vladimir Lenin and the Bolsheviks**, taking power from the Romanovs.
    - Planted the seeds of WW2 due to the resentment of Germany on the **Treaty of Versailles**, which diminished their power, and saw the steady **rise of Hitler**.
        - The Treaty of Versailles was a key agreement ending WW1.
        - It made Germany the sole **guilty party** for **War Crimes** WW1 despite the provocations of Austria-Hungary.

- - **Allied Powers or the *Triple Entente*:**
    - France, Great Britain, and Russia, United States (later in the war)
  - **Central Powers:**
    - Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey.
- **League of Nations**
  - The world's first attempt at global governance.
  - Leading figures were
    - President Wilson of the USA,
    - Clemenceau, the Prime Minister of France, and
    - Lloyd George, the UK Prime Minister.
  - They met in Paris in January 1919 to arrange a peace treaty with Germany.
  - The result of this was the **Treaty of Versailles, signed in June 1919**, with a further series of treaties later being signed with the other defeated powers.
  - Two main motivations lay behind these treaties.
    - The first, articulated by Wilson and set out in his **Fourteen Points** (a peace programme announced in a speech to Congress in January 1918) was the desire to institute a new international order, achieved through a 'just peace' that would banish power politics for ever.
      - This resulted in the redrawing of the map of central and eastern Europe in line with the principle of national self-determination, leading to the creation of new states such as Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Poland. Wilson's major contribution to the Versailles conference, however, was the creation of the League of Nations.
    - However, the other major motivation, expressed in particular by Clemenceau, was to punish Germany and strengthen French security. This led to the large-scale disarmament of Germany, the loss of German territory and the distribution of its colonies as 'mandates' to various Allied powers, and the imposition of the **'war guilt' clause.**
  - **However, United States did not form part of the League of Nations.**
  - This led to a period of "False Peace" or the Interwar Period **(1919-1939)**
- **Prelude to World War II**
  - **Great Depression**
    - Period of worldwide recession during the 1930's
    - Symbolized in the United States by the stock market crash on "Black Thursday", October 24, 1929

- The banking system had collapsed, nearly 25% of the labor force was unemployed, and prices and productivity had fallen to 1/3 of their 1929 levels. Reduced prices and reduced output resulted in lower incomes in wages, rents, dividends, and profits throughout the economy. Factories were shut down, farms and homes were lost to foreclosure, mills and mines were abandoned, and people went hungry. The resulting lower incomes meant the further inability of the people to spend or to save their way out of the crisis, thus perpetuating the economic slowdown in a seemingly never-ending cycle.
- Under the presidency of Franklin D. Roosevelt, he proposed the "New Deal", a body of policies aimed to thrust back the US to its former economic power.

- **World War II**
  - Mostly started in **East-Central Europe** (Germany's invasion of Poland).
  - Considered the most devastating war.
  - The factors that were decisive in determining the outcome of WWII were the involvement of the USSR and the USA.
  - The main factors that have been associated with the outbreak of WWII have been:
    - The WWI peace settlements
    - The global economic crisis
    - Nazi expansionism
    - Japanese expansionism in Asia.
  - A "replay" of WWI.
  - Precipitated the end of empires
  - Led to the formation of the **United Nations** founded on **October 24, 1945**.

III. **Elements and Roles of State and Non-State Actors**

- **State**
  - The basic unit of IR.
  - Stemming from its sovereign jurisdiction
  - Independence
  - Equality
    - The interaction premised under equality is **coordination** and not dominance or hierarchical.
  - Emphasis on Sovereignty during the Westphalian Treaty
  - "The principal actors in the world stage".
  - The monopoly of the legitimate use of violence.
  - **Montevideo Convention:**

- Territory;
- Population;
- Government; and
- Able to enter into a relationship with other States.
  - **Example:** United Nations, Bilateral Relations, Supranational Organizations such North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Southeast Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO), Collective Security Organization (CSO)
  - **Note:** Usually these organizations were used to balance out Communism in their respective areas or deter Soviet influence.
- **Distribution of Power:**
  - Unipolar – 1 State Power
  - Bipolar – 2 State Power
  - Multipolar – 3 or more State Power
- **War:** A condition of armed conflict between two or more parties (usually states).The emergence of the modern form of war as an organized and goal- directed activity stems from the development of the European state- system in the early modern period. War has a formal or quasi-legal character in that the declaration of a state of war need not necessarily be accompanied by an outbreak of hostilities. In the post-Cold War era it has been common to refer to 'new' wars. These have been characterized, variously, as being linked to intra-state ethnic conflict, the use of advanced military technology, and the involvement of non-state actors such as terrorist groups and guerrilla movements.
  - Total War: A war involving all aspects of society, including large-scale conscription, the gearing of the economy to military ends, and the aim of achieving unconditional surrender through the mass destruction of enemy targets, civilian and military.
  - Lightning War/Blitzkireg: Penetration in depth by armoured columns, usually preceded by aerial bombardment to reduce enemy resistance.
  - Conventional War: A form of warfare that is conducted by regular, uniformed and national military units and uses conventional (not nuclear) military weapons and battlefield tactics.
  - Civil War: An armed conflict between politically organized groups within a state, usually fought either for control of the state or to establish a new state.
  - Hegemonic war: War that is fought to establish dominance of the entire world order by restructuring the global balance of power.

- Guerrilla war: An insurgency or 'people's' war, fought by irregular troops using tactics that are suited to the terrain and emphasize mobility and surprise rather than superior firepower.
- Proxy War: A war fought between groups of smaller countries that each represent the interests of other larger powers, and may have help and support from these larger powers

- **Non-Governmental Organizations/International Organizations**
  - They are independent, non-profit entities that operate separately from government institutions to address social, environmental, or humanitarian issues.
  - Private organizations that engage in advocacy, service delivery, or policy work to promote specific causes and improve societal well-being, often relying on donations and volunteers for support.
  - Autonomous groups that work outside governmental structures to provide support, raise awareness, or influence policy on various issues, from human rights to environmental conservation.
  - Primarily independent from government, they are **organized** at **local, national, and international levels** to address international.
  - Organizations that influence **both direct and indirect relations**; networks create **possibilities for linkages between states** that would be difficult to forge in their absence.
  - Examples:
    - World Trade Organization: Rules between trade between states
    - World Bank: International financial institution that provides loans and grants to the governments of low- and middle-income countries.
    - European Union: A group of 27 countries in Europe geared towards promoting peace and security and respecting fundamental rights and freedoms.
    - International Court of Justice: The only international court that adjudicates general disputes between nations, and gives advisory opinions on international legal issues.
    - International Criminal Court: Investigates and, where warranted, tries individuals charged with the gravest crimes of concern to the international community: genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and the crime of aggression.
    - United Nations: A diplomatic and political international organization with the intended purpose of maintaining international peace and security, developing friendly relations among nations, achieving international

cooperation, and serving as a center for coordinating the actions of member nations.

IV. Theories

Theorist	Theory
Thucydides	• Considered the thirst for power and the need to follow self-interest as the defining elements of individuals and states alike. • Centrality of power politics to human behaviour and noted that the unequal distribution of power in the international realm further exacerbated warlike tendencies arising from human nature. • Historical Realism
Machiavelli	• A leader's glory and honour depended on their ability to govern well and advance the common good, and reflected the state's power • A leader's glory and honour depended on their ability to govern well and advance the common good, and reflected the state's power
Hobbes	• Human nature and the lack of supreme authority were the main causes of war, which was only contained by establishment of the state. • In the anarchic state of nature, the threat of war of all against all was ever-present. • People agree to limit their liberty and confer power to the state (the Leviathan) in exchange for security that permits them to pursue 'higher' human aspirations
Kant	• A 'perpetual peace' could be achieved through the transformation of individual consciousness, republican constitutionalism, and a federal contract among states to abolish war. • The imperative to achieve perpetual peace required the transformation of individual consciousness, republican constitutionalism, and a fed- eral contract among states to abolish war (rather than to regulate it, as earlier international lawyers had argued). This federation can be likened to a permanent peace treaty, rather than a 'super-state' actor or world government. • A federation of states as a means to achieve peace, a world order in which man is able to live without fear of war. • "Greatest IR Theorist"
Rousseau	• It is "only the general will," not a leviathan, that can "direct the forces of the state according to the purpose for which it was instituted, which is the common good." • "Each of us places his person and all his power in common under the supreme direction of the general will; and as one we receive each member as an indivisible part of the whole." • Ultimate authority was vested in the people them- selves, expressed in the idea of the 'general will'. The doctrine of popular sovereignty has often been seen as the basis of the modern theory of democracy, inspiring, amongst other things, the liberal-democratic idea that the sole legitimate source of political authority is success in regular, fair and competitive elections.
Locke	• The state is an institution created by rational men to protect both their natural rights (life, liberty, and property) and their self-interests. Men freely enter into this political arrangement, agreeing to establish government to ensure natural rights for all. • Political power ultimately rests with the peo- ple, rather than with a leader or monarch. The monarch derives legitimacy from the consent of the governed. • Tabula Rasa: Man is born a clean slate
Morgenthau	• Suggests that both military capabilities and moral principles ground a state's claim to political power in the international realm. • Diplomacy as an important means to increase political power. • "International politics, like all politics, is a struggle for power. Whatever the ultimate aims of international politics, power is always the immediate aim. Statesmen and peoples may ultimately seek freedom, security, prosperity, or power itself. They may define their goals in terms of a religious, philosophic, economic, or social ideal. They may hope that this ideal will materialize through its own inner force, through divine intervention, or through the natural development of human affairs. But whenever they strive to realize their goal by means of international politics, they do so by striving for power." • Abandoned the balance of power and proposed a form of global governance in its place
Carr	• The rise of internationalism, could not be separated from the interests of the most powerful states in the system. • The task for political realism is to show that these various articulations of internationalism were all connected to prevailing patterns of power and

	interests. Despite the inadequacies of internationalism, Carr recognized that the struggle to uncover a moral code that was applicable to all members of international society was an indispensable part of building a theory of international politics. • A major cause of the 'thirty-year crisis' that led to war in 1939 was wider faith in 'utopianism', or liberal internationalism. This encour- aged the 'haves' (the WWI victors) to assume that international affairs would in future be guided by a harmony of interests, inclining them to disregard bids for power by the 'have-nots' (in particular Germany and Italy).
Herz	• The balance of power could not offer security against the violence and pre-cariousness that characterized the bipolar system of the cold war. • State working to ensure security from attack is driven to acquire more and more power. • This, however, renders other states more insecure, which drives them to acquire more power. This makes the first state less secure, and it thus works to gain more power. And the spiral continues. The security dilemma, then, results in a permanent condition of tension and power conflicts among states, even if none actually seek conquest and war. In other words, security is a zero-sum game. A gain in security for one state is a loss for the other.

Keohane and Nye	• Hegemony is not a necessary condition for international orders to function effectively
	• Complex Interdependence:
	   ○ First, states are connected through multiple channels, not just through direct formal interac- tions. Informal interactions between governments often take place, and actors like multinational corporations span state borders, connecting states in important ways.
	   ○ Second, there is not a hierarchy of issues. States are concerned not only about security but also about other issues on which they share common interests.
	   ○ Third, the result is a decline in the use of military force.

Marx	• Argue that the effects of global capitalism are to ensure that the powerful and wealthy prosper at the expense of the powerless and the poor. We are all aware that there is gross inequality in the world. • His philosophy is based on the 'materialist conception of history', the belief that economic factors are the ultimately determining force in human history.

	In Marx's view, history is driven forward through a dialectical process in which internal contradictions within each 'mode of production', reflected in class conflict, lead to social revolution and the construction of a new and higher mode of production. • Capitalist development nevertheless always had a marked transnational character, leading some to regard him as an early 'hyperglobalist' theorist. The desire for profit would drive capitalism to 'strive to tear down every barrier to intercourse' and to 'conquer the whole earth for its market'
Von Clausewitz	• Widely interpreted as advancing the idea that war is essentially a political act, an instrument of policy, the book sets out a 'trinitarian' theory of warfare which involves (1) the masses, who are motivated by a sense of national animosity, (2) the army, which devises strategies to take account of the contingencies of war, and (3) political leaders, who establish the aims and objectives of military action. • All wars have the same 'objective' character: 'War is merely a continuation of politics (or policy) by other means'. War is therefore a means to an end, a way of forcing an opponent to submit to one's will. Such a stance emphasizes the continuity between war and peace. Both war and peace are characterized by the rational pursuit of self-inter- est, and therefore by conflict; the only difference between them is the means selected to achieve one's goals, and that is decided on an instrumental basis.

Theory	Arguments
Realism	• Realism relied on national interests rather than ideology, sought peace through strength, and accepted pluralism in the international domain. Realist theorists embraced statism, highlighting the role of states over other actors in international relations, such as international organizations, individuals, or corporations. • Emphasizes the role of the state, national interest, and power in world politics. • Describe human nature as essentially selfish • Morality is based on survival and security • State as the main actor • Anarchic • Security Dilemma • Struggle for Power

Neorealism	• This approach stresses the importance of the structure of the international system in affecting the behaviour of all states. Thus, during the cold war two main powers dominated the international system, and this gave rise to certain rules of behaviour; now that the cold war has ended, the structure of world politics is said to be moving towards multipolarity (after a phase of unipolarity). • The bipolar/multipolar international system is the most stable structure in the long run: the two sides are "able both to moderate the other's use of violence and to absorb possibly destabilizing changes that emanate from uses of violence that they do not or cannot control.
Liberalism	• The central theme of liberalism in all its forms is the notion of harmony or balance amongst competing interests. Individual, groups and, for that matter, states may pursue self-interest but a natural equilibrium will tend to assert itself. • Balance of interests tends to develop amongst the states of the world. • States are rational; states have relationships (enduring friends and rivals); state characteristics (democratic-liberal, authoritarian-autarkic) matter; actors within states can influence state actions. • Anarchy abridged by interdependence among actors; an international order • Self-interest managed by structure (institutions) leads to possibility of cooperation and peace.
Neoliberalism	• Refers to market-oriented reform policies such as eliminating price controls, deregulating capital markets, and lowering trade barriers. • Further deepens the existing divides between the core, the semi-periphery, and the periphery. • The values represented by neoliberalism underpin the core idea of universal human rights, understood as civil and political rights. This idea, expressed in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, has gained an authority through which people can express their discontent with authoritarian and totalitarian forms of government. • It promotes free market enterprise. The freedoms promoted by neoliberalism offer individuals an opportunity to engage unhindered in free market relations, to develop their creative business skills, and to create wealth for the good of the community. • Neoliberalism will eventually abolish poverty through 'trickle-down'. The term 'trickle-down' describes the benefits that all will eventually enjoy as wealth

	creators freely exercise their creative talents. While wealth may be generated at the top of the social order, the lives of the poor and hungry in the community will also be improved as wealth is invested to create jobs and improve wages. • Minimum government and taxation are an expression of human freedom. The state's activities should be minimized so that the individual can get on with the important business of making wealth. Taxation must be kept to the lowest possible level so that the maximum amount of capital is available for investment.
Constructivism	• An approach to international politics that concerns itself with the centrality of ideas and human consciousness, and stresses a holistic and ideal- ist view of structures. As constructivists have examined world politics they have been broadly interested in how the structure constructs the actors' identities and interests, how their interactions are organized and con- strained by that structure, and how their very interaction serves to either reproduce or transform that structure. • States that social interaction and socially-applied meanings, rather than given inherent, natural value. • Social forces such as ideas, knowledge, norms, and rules also influence states' identities and interests and the very organization of world politics. • Actors are not born outside of and prior to society, as individualism claims. Instead, actors are produced and created by their cultural environment: nurture, not nature. This points to the importance of identity and the social construction of interests. • Knowledge—symbols, rules, concepts, and categories—shapes how individuals construct and interpret their worlds. Reality is not just out there waiting to be discovered; instead, historically produced and culturally bound knowledge enables individuals to construct and give meaning to reality. • Constructivists' claim that the world is not just material but also normative leads them to contrast different kinds of world order. • Constructivists are concerned with human consciousness and knowledge. They treat ideas as structural factors that influence how actors interpret the world, consider the dynamic relationship between ideas and material forces as a consequence of how actors interpret their material reality, are interested in how agents produce structures and how structures produce agents, and focus on the practices that are situated between agents and structures.

	• Regulative and constitutive norms shape what actors do, but only constitutive norms shape states as actors, the identity of states, and what counts as legitimate behaviour. • Normative structures imprint how state and non-state actors understand themselves and the world: their beliefs, their practices, their sense of right and wrong, and their notions of legitimacy. • Although the underlying culture shapes the meanings that actors bring to their activities, meanings are not always fixed; the fixing of meaning is a central feature of politics. • Social construction denaturalizes and excavates what is taken for granted, and considers the alternative pathways that might have produced, and can produce, alternative worlds. • Power is not only the ability of one actor to get another actor to do what they would not do otherwise, but also the production of identities, interests, and meanings that shape the ability of actors to control their fate.
Marxism	• It views that the social world should be analysed as a totality. The academic division of the social world into different areas of enquiry—history, philosophy, economics, political science, sociology, international relations, etc.—is both arbitrary and unhelpful. None can be understood without knowledge of the others: the social world has to be studied as a whole. Given the scale and complexity of the social world, this exhortation clearly makes great demands of the analyst. Nonetheless, for Marxist theorists, the disciplinary boundaries that characterize the contemporary social sciences need to be transcended if we are to generate a proper understanding of the dynamics of world politics. • Historical Materialism - The central contention here is that processes of historical change are ultimately a reflection of the economic development of society. That is, economic development is effectively the motor of history. The central dynamic that Marx identifies is tension between the means of production and relations of production that together form the economic base of a given society. As the means of production develop, for example through technological advancement, previous relations of production become outmoded, and indeed become fetters restricting the most effective utilization of the new productive capacity. This in turn leads to a process of social change whereby relations of production are transformed in order to better accommodate the new configuration of means.

	• The legal, political, and cultural institutions and practices of a given society reflect and reinforce—in a more or less mediated form—the pattern of power and control in the economy. It follows logically, therefore, that change in the economic base ultimately leads to change in the 'legal and political superstructure'. The relationship between the base and superstructure is one of the key areas of discussion in Marxism, and for critics of Marxist approaches. • Marxist theorists have consistently developed an analysis of the global aspects of international capitalism—an aspect acknowledged by Marx, but not developed in Capital. • World-systems theory can be seen as a direct development of Lenin's work on imperialism and that of the Latin American Dependency School. ○ According to world-systems theorists, the three zones of the world economy—the core, periphery, and semi-periphery— are linked together in an exploitative relationship in which wealth is drained away from the periphery to the core

Feminism/Gender Theory	• The role of women, as, for instance, diplomats' wives, domestic workers, sex workers and suchlike, is therefore ignored, as are the often international and even global processes through which women are subordinated and exploited.
	 • It argued that the theory of power politics is premised on 'masculinist' assumptions about rivalry, competition and inevitable conflict, arising from a tendency to see the world in terms of interactions amongst series of power-seeking autonomous actors.
	     ○ First-wave feminism was a period of feminist activity and thought that occurred during the 19th and early 20th century throughout the Western world. It focused on legal issues, primarily on securing women's right to vote.
	     ○ Second-wave feminism was a period of feminist activity that began in the early 1960s and lasted roughly two decades, ending with the feminist sex wars in the early 1980s and being replaced by third-wave feminism in the early 1990s. It occurred throughout the Western world and aimed to increase women's equality by building on the feminist gains of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.
	     ○ Third-wave feminism is a feminist movement that began in the early 1990s, prominent in the decades prior to the fourth wave. Grounded

	in the civil-rights advances of the second wave, Gen X third-wave feminists born in the 1960s and 1970s embraced diversity and individualism in women, and sought to redefine what it meant to be a feminist. The third wave saw the emergence of new feminist currents and theories, such as intersectionality, sex positivity, vegetarian ecofeminism, transfeminism, and postmodern feminism. According to feminist scholar Elizabeth Evans, the "confusion surrounding what constitutes third-wave feminism is in some respects its defining feature. ○ Fourth-wave feminism is a feminist movement that began around the early 2010s and is characterized by a focus on the empowerment of women, the use of internet tools, and intersectionality. The fourth wave seeks greater gender equality by focusing on gendered norms and the marginalization of women in society.
Green Politics/Green Politics/Climate Theory	• The central theme of green politics is the notion of an intrinsic link between humankind and nature. • It aims to develop a balance between modernization and economic growth, on the one hand, and the need to tackle environmental degradation • Deep ecology – A green ideological perspective that rejects anthropocentrism and gives priority to the maintenance of nature; it is associated with values such as bio-equality, diversity and decentralization.
Postcolonialism	• Expose the cultural dimension of colonial rule, usually by establishing the legitimacy of non-western and sometimes anti-western ideas, cultures and traditions. • Orientalism highlights the extent to which western cultural and political hegemony over the rest of the world, but over the Orient in particular, had been maintained through elaborate stereotypical fictions that belittled and demeaned non-western people and culture. • The cultural biases generated by colonialism do not only affect, and subjugate, former colonized people, however. They also have a continuing impact on western states, which assume the mantle of the 'international community' in claiming the authority to 'sort out' less favoured parts of the world.
Post-Structuralism	• Poststructuralists have drawn attention to the link between power and systems of thought using the idea of discourse, or 'discourses of power'. In

	crude terms, this implies that knowledge is power. However, in the absence of a universal frame of reference or overarching perspective, there exist only a series of competing perspectives, each of which represents a particular discourse of power. • Poststructuralism draws attention to the fact that any political event will always be susceptible to competing interpretations.